A

# NARRATIVE

OF THE

APPREHENDING, COMMITMENT, ARRAIGNMENT, CONDEMNATION, And EXECUTION of

# JOHN JAMES

Who Suffered at *TIBURNE*, *Novemb.* the 26th. 1661.

With ſeveral occaſional *Paſſages* and *Speeches*, faithfully Collected from ſuch as were Eye and Ear Witneſſes.

Alſo, An Account of the Death of ſeveral Perſons ſince the Execution of *John James*, known to be active and diligent in that matter.

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Heb. 11. 4. *By it he being Dead yet Speaketh.*

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*LONDON*, Printed in the year, 1662.

# TO THE READER.

FOr Satisfaction of publick Expectation (after much labour and pains taken) here is at last presented a NARRATIVE of the late Tryal, Sayings, and Sufferings of John James, which as you will find, gives neither gloss nor Descant upon the Matter, nor Commendation of the Person; but simply a plain Account of some material Passages and Circumstances therein, and they Collected with as much exactness as was possible, inserting nothing but what there hath been sufficient Evidence for: But in some things the Narrative is much shorter than was desired, or might be expected, especially in reference to the Tryal; the Relation whereof, for want of a good Notary in the Court, and a Copy of the Record, comes forth much more imperfect than otherwise it might have done.

You have here the Crimes charged against him, how proved, by whom, and in what manner, with his Defence and avowed Innocency from first to last, and his solemn Appeals to the Lord thereupon, that by some signal Testimony he would manifest the same; of which no judgment is here passed, but submitted to the discerning and impartial Reader, or rather to the Lord, to whom in an especial manner it is committed: So that if there hath been any undue Combination against this poor man, if for some Reason of State, rather than for any real Guilt on his part, he was made an Example; if his Judgment and Conscience, rather than any just Crime, were the cause of his Condemnation, as he so often declared; if submitting to a Tryal by the

*the Word of God, he was judged contrary thereto; the Lord in his due time will manifeſt, and his Blood will moſt certainly be required; according to that Word,* Jer. 26. 14, 15. *which he left with the* Court *at the time of receiving his Sentence: And whether the ſpecial hand of the Lord hath already reached ſome, in a viſible execution of Judgment upon them, (ſince his death) who were ſo publickly, (and as we fear malitiouſly) ingaged in that matter, is not here certainly determiued, but time may further manifeſt; only it was thought neceſſary, to give a* Relation *of the Death of the ſeveral Perſons, inſerted in the end of this Book, which came to hand ſince this went to Preſs.*

*If thou receive any Spiritual Advantage by his Experiences, and dying Breathings, give God the Glory, and labour to get an Intreſt in Chriſt, which can only bear up the Soul in a dying hour, and inable to encounter with the greateſt difficulty.*

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*Some*

## *Some* PASSAGES *at the firſt taking and apprehending of* John James, *and the Company with him, met together in* Bulſtake-Alley *in* White-Chappel, *Octob.* 19. 1661.

THe Congregation being aſſembled the day above-mentioned, (being the ſeventh day of the week) in *Bulſtake-Alley* (where was the place of their publick Meeting, the Doors being open) continued together the former part of the day in the Worſhip of God without diſturbance; and being again come together in the afternoon, continued without interruption till three of the Clock; about which time *John James* was ſpeaking from 1 *Cor.* 6. 20. in theſe words, *For ye are bought with a price, therefore glorifie God in your body, and in your ſpirit, which are Gods.* About which time one Juſtice *Chard*, with Mr. *Wood* the Headborough, came to the Meeting-place, Mr. *Wood* commanding him in the King's name to be ſilent and come down, having ſpoke Treaſon againſt the King: but *John James* taking little notice thereof, and going on upon his Subject, the Headborough came nearer to him in the middle of the Meeting-place, and commanded him again in the King's name to come down, or elſe he would pull him down; whereupon the diſturbance grew ſo great he could not proceed, but told the Headborough he would not come down except he was pull'd down; whereupon he pulled him down, and halled him away. The cauſe of his being apprehended proceeding from one *Tipler* a Pipemaker, Journy-man to a Neighbour near adjoyning, who from their Yard hearing the ſaid *John James* ſpeak a little before, from *Pſal.* 8. 2. in theſe words; *Out of the mouthes of Babes and Sucklings haſt thou ordained ſtrength becauſe of thine Enemies, that thou mighteſt ſtill the Enemy and the Avenger.* (which words were occaſionally ſpoken to, by way of addition to what another Brother had ſpoken before) Whereat the ſaid *Tipler* taking offence, went to Juſtice *Chard* to acquaint him therewith; but being an Idle fellow, the Juſtice (as it's ſaid) took not much notice of what he ſpake, till bringing a Neighbour with him, he was provoked by him to regard his Teſtimony.

Whereupon the Juſtice came forth and went with Mr. *Wood* the Head-

Headborough to the Meeting-place, and ſeized upon him as aforeſaid, the ſaid Juſtice ſtanding at the door: Hereupon an Uproar grew, ſome crying out in the ſtreets, *Treaſon, Treaſon*; the Hamblets were hereupon ſummoned upon pain of death, many of whom appeared accordingly; and by this time four * Juſtices of the Peace were come together, to wit, the Lieutenant of the Tower, Juſtice *Bide*, Juſtice *Swallow*, and Juſtice *Chard*; *John James* in the mean time was committed to the cuſtody of the Headborough, who carried him to a Tavern near thereunto, where ſeveral Souldiers and other looſe people came about him, ſcoffing and blaſpheming, ſome taking Wine and ſaying, *I drink to you in the ſpirit*; and others being rude, and reproved by the Officer, ſaid, *I would only ſpeak to him a few words in the ſpirit*: in this time the reſt of the Meeting by ſevens were brought before the Juſtices (being at an houſe near the Meeting-place) who tendring the Oath of Allegiance unto them, committed thoſe that refuſed, ſome to *Newgate*, both men and women, being guarded thither by the Hamblets; afterwards the ſame Juſtices entring the Meeting-place ſate down about the Table with their Clerk and (one Major *Manly* ſtanding by) did ſend for *John James*, and in the mean time the Lieut. of the Tower read a Paper which he pulled out of his pocket, ſaying, he would reade to them what doctrine was preached there that day, being of the nature of a Charge, which they drew up from *Tiplers* mouth againſt *John James*, demanding of certain women (relating to the Meeting, yet detained, and whoſe names they were then taking) how they could hear ſuch things as thoſe? To which they unanimouſly replyed in the fear of the Lord, That they never heard ſuch words, as they ſhould anſwer it before the Lord, and they durſt not lye: who replyed, They had but their *words*, but they had others *Oathes* for it: who made anſwer in the Prophets words, *Pſal.* 102. 8. *They which were mad againſt them, had ſworn againſt them.* By this time *John James* was brought into the Meeting-place, and the Lieutenant (looking upon him) ſaid to the women, What have you no better a holder-forth than he? *John James* ſaid, that the way of the Lord was and is many times, to uſe the pooreſt of his People to do his Work, alledging alſo the Apoſtles words, 1 *Cor.* 1. 27. that *he chooſeth the weak and fooliſh things of the world to confound*

* *The ſaid Juſtices being that day ſat near that place at the Half-Moon Tavern, about the Lieutenancy.*

*found the mighty*: Then ſaid the Lieut. of the Tower, What you are a Jew. *John James* ſaid, that in one ſenſe he was a Jew, and in another ſenſe not, repeating thoſe words of the Apoſtle in *Rom.* 2. laſt. *For he is not a Jew that is one outwardly, neither is that Circumciſion which is outward in the fleſh; but he is a Jew which is one inwardly, and Circumciſion is that of the heart in the ſpirit, whoſe praiſe is not of men, but of God.* The Lieut. asked him, whether he had not been before him before this? who anſwered, he had: and whether he had not been civilly uſed? he replyed, Yea, and for his civility he thanked him: Then the Lieutenant asked him, if he was not counſelled for to take heed for the future? he anſwered, Yea, and he had taken it ſo far as he could with a good Conſcience: upon which the Lieut. told him he ſhould ſtretch for it, *and if he were not hang'd he would be hang'd for him. John James* told him, he was not carefull in that matter, and that they could do no more than they ſhould be ſuffered by the Lord to do: The Lieut. told him, he thought he was not carefull, for he had a mind to be hang'd as ſome of his holy Brethren that went before him. *John James* deſired he would not ſpeak ſo lightly. The Lieut. ſpake ſomething alſo about the *Fifth Kingdom*, and asked him, whether it was not his Principle? who told him he did own the *Fifth Kingdom* which muſt come: whereupon they laughed one upon another and ſaid, *Now they had it from his own mouth.* Something alſo was charged upon him about his learning to ſound a Trumpet, in order to a Riſing with *Venners Party*; To which he ſaid, there was a Friend of his who lay in his houſe, minding to go to Sea, being to learn to ſound, deſired he might have liberty to be taught in his houſe, but he never learned himſelf, neither was he one of thoſe in that Riſing, judging it to be a raſh act. Then the Lieut. of the Tower called in Capt. *Hodgskin*, who commanded the Party of Soldiers that ſtood at the door, and ſaid, Take this man, be carefull of him, and commit him Cloſe Priſoner to *Newgate*. So they carried him away with his *Mittimus* hereafter expreſſed.

To the Keeper of the Goale of *Newgate*, or his Deputy.

Middleſ. *THeſe are in the Kings Majeſties Name to require you to receive into your Cuſtody the body of* John James, *whom we ſend you herewith, being taken this preſent day at a*

 *Conventicle*

*Conventicle, or private Meeting, in the Parish of* White-Chappel, *and there speaking in the audience of the People present, treasonable words against his Majesties Royal Person; you shall therefore keep him Close Prisoner until further order, and this shall be your Warrant. Given under our hands this* 19th *day of* October, 1661.

John Robinson, *Lieut. of the Tower.*
Thomas Bide. Edward Chard.
Thomas Swallow.

After that *John James* was sent away according to the *Mittimus* afore-mentioned, the Witnesses were called in and further examined, and forthwith a Paper was presented to one of them (being as was supposed the substance of what *Tipler* had before sworn to) which being read with a low voice, the Relator could not hear, but this he saw, that one of the Witnesses refused to take his Oath, saying, That there were many words in the Paper which he did not hear: but the Justices said, That this which was written, and that which was heard, was all to one purpose, therefore take it; but he refused it again: yet it being tendred once more, with much perswasions, entreaties, and threatnings to send him to Prison if he refused it, he took it; after which the Lieutenant said, he knew nothing to the contrary but that this business might be worth to them 100 l. apiece: after this *Osburn* (who was a Seaman) said, I cannot stay, but must go to Sea for a livelihood, for I am poor: Then Justice *Chard* said to the Lieut. of the Tower, Let him be entred in the Tovver, or upon some Ship, to receive the Kings Pay till the business be over; bidding him come to the Tovver accordingly the next morning. As they vvere going avvay, a vvoman and friend of the Seamans being present and heard vvhat passed, said, that his Oath vvas not to be taken: Then the Lieut. asked vvhat she vvas, saying that she vvould fain seduce the Witnesses, and that she deserved to be sent to *Newgate*: to vvhich she replyed saying, You may do vvhat you please, but I speak the truth, and knovv that his vvord is not to be taken: after this they said to the Seaman as they vvere going avvay, be not seduced by her; and further said, that if he did not stand to his Oath, he should be committed, vvith other threatning vvords, and so they departed. And it is further asserted by several persons that vvere upon the place vvhen *Osburn* vvas svvorn, vvho immediatly demanded of him vvhat it vvas he

he had ſwore unto, deſiring him to tell them the words, who ſeemed at that time to be very ſad, telling them that he could not remember the words except he heard them named over again; upon which alſo ſome of the Guard themſelves hearing him ſpeak thus, ſaid to him, that they would not be in his condition for all the world. Sometime after this, ſeveral ſpake unto the ſaid *Bernard Osburn*, queſtioning him about the Oath he had taken; he declared that he had ſworn to he knew not what, being forced thereto through fear and hopes of Releaſe; That the ſaid *Bernard Osburn* intending not to ſtand to his Oath, went to his Ship towards the *Hope* in order to the Sea-voyage he was engaged in, but not long after came a Warrant from the Lieut. of the Tower, to require his appearance in the Court as one of the Witneſſes, which was directed to his Brothers houſe in *Wapping* where he uſed to lodge, but his Siſter acquainted them that he was gone to Sea ſometime before: and they demanding where? ſhe ſaid, I ſuppoſe he may be in the *Downs* by this time; at which the Meſſenger was much offended, threatning him greatly, which occaſioned her ſpeedy coming to the Lieut. of the Tower, who in great wrath demanded, how long he had been gone, and what Ship he was upon? which ſhe ſignified unto him, and accordingly he forthwith ſent his Marſhal to demand him from his Ship, which was performed accordingly; and when he was come, they threatned to have him hang'd, if he did not ſtand to his Evidence, but if he did he ſhould have all his Charges born, and a Reward for his pains: and from this time he was kept in the Marſhal's hands at the Kings charge, till the Tryal was over: After this the ſaid *Osburn*, with the other Witneſſes, were divers times under private Examination by the Kings Counſel and Atturney and Solicitor General, *&c.*

The Evidence being prepared, and all things in readineſs for a Tryal, *John Iames* having been in *Newgate* from the 19th of the 8th month, was appointed the 14th of the 9th month to appear at the Kings-Bench Bar in order to his Tryal.

## His ARRAIGNMENT and TRYAL.

*What paſſed the firſt day*, Novemb. 14.

BEing carried in a Coach to *Weſtminſter* by the Under-Sheriff and brought to the Kings-Bench Bar, Chief Juſtice *Forſter*, Juſtice

*Mallet*, Juſtice *Twiſden* and Juſtice *Windam*, being Judges upon the Bench: he was commanded, according to cuſtom, to hold up his hand, and he did ſo, and told them he did hold up his hand to ſignifie he was there to anſwer to what ſhould be laid to his charge: but he held up his hand with his glove on, which ſome were offended at, and told him he muſt pull it off: *John Iames* anſwered, it was all one to him to hold up his hand with it off or on; and then he did pull off his glove and held up his hand, and then his Charge was read.

## *The Subſtance of the* INDICTMENT.

HE ſtood indited by the name of *John James*,

1. *For compaſſing and imagining the Death of the King.*

2. *For endeavouring to levy War againſt the King.*

3. *For endeavouring a change of the Government. And in this his compaſſing, imaginiug, and contriving the Kings Death, he had maliciouſly, traiterouſly, and by inſtigation of the Devil, not having the fear of God before his eyes, declared theſe words.* (1.) *That the King was a bloody Tyrant, a Blood-ſucker and Blood-thirſty man, and his Nobles the ſame.* (2.) *That the King and his Nobles had ſhed the Blood of the Saints at* Charing-Croſs, *and the Blood of the Covenanters in* Scotland. (3.) *That the King was brought in to this end, to fill up the meaſure of his Iniquity; and that the Kings Cup of Iniquity had filled more within this laſt year than in many years before.* (4.) *That he did bemoan that they had not improved their Opportunity when they had power in their hands, and that he did ſay it would not be long before they had Power again, and then they would improve it better; and that he did bewail the Apoſtacy of the People of God, and ſay, they had not fought the Lords Battels thorowly, but when the Lord ſhould give Power to them again, and give his Work into their hands, they would do it better.* (5.) *That the Death and Deſtruction of the King drew very near.*

The Inditement being read, the Clerk called upon *John Iames* to anſwer to his Charge, and plead *guilty*, or *not guilty*.

*John Iames* deſired before they did proceed, that he might have a Copy of his Charge, and time to conſider of it.

The Lord Chief Juſtice anſwered him, that a Copy of his Charge was not allowed in caſes of High Treaſon, and he told him he muſt plead

plead guilty, or not guilty, or elſe a worſe thing would follow.

*John James* anſwered, he humbly conceived it was his privilledge as an *Engliſh-man*, and till he had that he was not free to plead one way or other. He alledged that Chief Juſtice *Cook* had declared it good Law, And that Judge *Heath* had declared it alſo good Law, and that he did at *Oxford* give *John Lilburn* a Copy of his Charge, being arraigned there for High Treaſon.

Then one of the Kings Counſel told him, that the Law would not grant him a Copy of his Charge in caſe of Felony, much leſſe in caſe of High Treaſon; and told him, if he would not plead, they would proceed againſt him as a perſon contemning the Court, and look upon him as a Mute.

*John James* made anſwer, ſeeing he was over-ruled, he pleaded *Not guilty* neither in *form* nor *matter*.

The Clerk asked him how he would be tryed?

He anſwered, *By the Law of God*; at which the Lawyers gave a great hiſſe, And

It was anſwered thus, or to this effed, It was not a place or time to talk of the Laws of God. But *Iohn Iames* was vvilling to urge it again, That ſeeing the Judge did ſit there as Judge of the Law, and of Gods Law as they thought, it was meet they ſhould give him liberty to appeal to Gods Law.

Whereupon the Judge told him he muſt proceed according to their Law, or elſe a worſe thing would follow, and ſay, *By God and the Country*.

*Iohn Iames* anſwered, he was ignorant in their Law, and knew not what ſnare there might be in it, never having been at any Bar before, and therefore deſired him he would open the terms, what they meant by *God*, and what they meant by the *Country*.

The Judge anſwered, God forbid but he ſhould open the tearms: By *God* (ſaid he) is meant your firſt demand, to wit, the Law of God.

*Iohn Iames* askt him, why then his firſt demand was not granted?

The Judge ſaid, God forbid but that you ſhould ſo be tryed, but you muſt uſe the form of the Court.

*Iohn Iames* ſaid, If it were ſo he was ſatisfied.

And by the *Country* (ſaith the Judge) Twelve *Middleſex* men, men of truth, that would judge impartially between the King and him.

*Iohn Iames* ſaid, if that be the meaning, he put himſelf upon the tryal of *God and the Country*. When

When this was done, *Iohn Iames* was sent by a *Habeas Corpus* to the Kings-Bench Prison in *Southwark*, and there continued till the 29th day of *November*, and then was brought again to the Kings-Bench Bar at *Westminster* to his further tryal.

In this interval betwixt the Commitment and Tryal, upon the first day of the week, being the 18th of *Novemb.* *Iohn Iames* received a Letter from a Person of Note, to advertise him that there were such a Jury of life and death impanelled to proceed upon him as had not been for many years before, being all pickt men, and most of them Knights and Gentlemen, and that if he did not except against them, or most of the chief of them, he was a dead man.

*The second dayes Tryal.*

Upon the 19. *Novemb.* he appeared the second time at the Kings-Bench Bar, according to the Order of the Court, where were present,

The Judges { Sir *Rob. Foster*, Chief Justice. / Sir *Mallet*, Justice. / Sir *Thomas Twisden*, Justice. / Sir *Waddam Windam*, Justice. } { Sir *Jeoffry Palmer*, Atturney General. / Sir *Heneage Finch*, Solicitor General. }

Kings Counsel { Serj. *Maynard*, / Serj. *Glynne*. / Serj. *Wilde*. / Serj. *Keeling*. }

The Witnesses names appearing in the Court.

Alderman *Chard*.
*Iohn Tipler*.
*Bernard Osburn*.
The fourth Witness his name not yet known.

The names of the Jury.

*Charles Pitfield*,
*Ralph Halsaye*,
*Thomas Eglesield*,
*Daniel Charlwood*,
*Ambrose Hanburough*,
*Anthony Hall*,
*Humphry Higgens*,
*Thomas Snow*,
*William Cole*,
*Thomas Upnel*,
*Gilbert Mese*,
*William Blunt*.

The Witnesses and Jury being called into the Court, *Iohn Iames* having excepted against divers Knights and Gentlemen prickt for his Jury, and the fore-named standing for his Jury; The Clerk bid *Iohn Iames* hold up his hand as before: he did so, and again told them it was to signifie that he was there (and then they laughed) and the Judge said, O ho, are you come?

Afterwards

Afterwards the Inditement being read again, the Clerk proceeded to tell the Court for what he was endited and arraigned, and that he pleaded *not guilty*, and had put himself upon *God and the Country* for tryal, and therefore told the Jury they were to judge between the King and him in that matter.

*Serjeant* Keeling *his Speech.*

Hereupon Serjeant *Keeling*, one of the Kings Counsel, stept up and said, My Lord, and you Gentlemen of the Jury, *John Iames* prisoner at the Bar stands indited for High Treason, for that he, with other disaffected persons, enemies unto the Government of the King, being assembled at *Bulstake-Alley* in *White-Chappel*, not having God before his eyes, but being moved by the instigation of the Devil, spake and published these words, *viz. That King* Charles *was a blood-thirsty tyrannical King, and that the Nobles of* England *were blood-thirsty and tyrannical men, and that the Cup of their Iniquity was begun to be filled by the shedding of the blood of the Covenanters in* Scotland, *and that it was almost filled by the shedding of the blood of the Saints this time twelve-month, and that the time of their destruction was near at hand; and did condole the neglect of the Opportunity and price they had put into their hands, and that if ever the like Occasion were administred unto them again they would fight the Lords Battels more effectually than they had done before:* And (said he) if we prove that these words were spoken by *John Iames*, you are to find him guilty of High Treason; (and so he sate down.) Then stood up Sir *Ieoffry Palmer*, Atturney General.

*The substance of Sir* Jeoffry Palmer's *Speech.*

First, he spake of the Antiquity of Monarchy, and did fully assert the present Government: then, by way of reflexion, he reviewed the 20. years troubles that had passed over our heads in these Nations, and that the Vessel of this Commonwealth had been beaten and blown upon the waves and billows of a tempestuous raging Sea, being almost broken to pieces and like utterly to be lost, unless God by a miraculous providence had restored his Majesty *Charles the second* to his Crown and Dignity, for which (he said) *ever blessed be his Name.* Then he observed that the beginning of our sorrows was by the seditious preaching of some discontented Ministers in this Nation, and about this City. Then he told them how much care the Law had taken for the preservation of his Majesties Person and Government, and that it

was

was as much Treason in the *heart* as in the *act*, *Mens rea facit reum*. Then he did descant upon the words of the Indictment and opened them, and told the Jury, that, according to the Law of *England*, they were Treason, for which he ought to dye; and then sate down.

Then the Court called *Iohn Tipler* the first Witness, the Judge bidding him look upon the Prisoner. Serj. *Glynne* asked him what he could say concerning the words spoken by *Iohn Iames*? Who said (at the time in the Indictment alledged, which was on Saturday) he was at a house near adjoyning unto the place where they usually did meet, and that about two of the Clock in the afternoon he stood at a Window in a Yard, next adjoyning to the Meeting-place, and saw *Iohn Iames*, the person at the Bar, preaching (as they call it, said he) and repeated the words that were opened by Serj. *Keeling* exactly, only further, that he did wonderfully adore *Oliver Cromwel*, saying, *That every finger of his was a Champion, and that when they had Power again they should do the work most thorowly*; and said, that thereupon he told it presently to a Justice, and afterwards to a Neighbour of his, who was in an extream fright and horror, and so they both went together to Alderman *Chard* Justice, who then came immediatly and surprized and seized upon them; the women only they let go, but the men the Justice did commit to Prison that would not take the Oath of Allegiance; That they seized *Iohn Iames* in the Pulpit where he was preaching when they came in. The Court askt him what time of the day it was? and he said it was about two of the clock in the afternoon. And they asked him where he stood? and he said, he stood directly oppsit in a Window in a Yard next adjoyning unto the Meeting-place, and that he could easily discern him. Demanding of him some other Questions that might induce the Jury to believe the Evidence given was neither with thought of Malice to the Prisoner, nor of hope of Reward *, then the Court gave the Prisoner leave to ask *Tipler* what Questions he pleased.

*But the said Tipler (as upon good ground is reported) is since taken into service under the Lieut. of the Tower.*

The Exception that *Iohn Iames* took unto the Witness, was, That it was a hard thing for him to swear that he was the person that was then preaching, he being without the Window, which might intercept his sight. To that he answered, that he knew him very well, and that he was not deceived.

Another

Another Witneſs was Alderman *Chard* the Juſtice, who ſaid he could ſay nothing as to the words that were ſpoken, but that ſo ſoon as *John Tipler* came to him and informed of the words ſpoken by *John James*, he enquired the place where it was, and immediatly he and his Clerk and the Conſtable haſted thither, where they found *Iohn James* preaching, and about thirty or forty aſſembled there to hear him; and ſaid, he there ſeized *Iohn Iames* and pulled him out of the Pulpit where he was preaching; and all thoſe men that would not take the Oath of Allegiance he committed, but the women he let go. So the Court asked him, if it were at the ſame time alledged in the Indictment? and he ſaid, Yea.

Another Witneſs was a Yorkſhire man, whoſe name we know not; who coming into the Court, was commanded to look upon the Priſoner at the Bar, and declare what he heard him ſay: Who anſwered, he was at *Tiplers* houſe, and heard very loud ſpeaking, which cauſed him to come out and hearken, and he heard very dangerous words. The Judge asked him what thoſe dangerous words were? he ſaid he could remember no more than this, that one ſaid, *That the Lord had a great Work to do for his People,* and *that they were the People that muſt do it.* The Judge askt him, if he heard nothing concerning the Kings Cup of Iniquity? to which he anſwered, No. And they bid him look upon the Priſoner at the Bar, and askt if that were the man? he anſwered, he could not ſay that he was the man.

Whereupon *Iohn Iames* deſired the Judge to ask him, *if he was the man?* and he turned his face towards *Iohn Iames*, as if he directed his ſpeech to him, and ſaid, *he could not ſay he was the man.*

Another was *Bernard Osburn*, whom the Judge commanded to look upon the Priſoner at the Bar, and tell the Court what he heard him ſay concerning the King and the Power that were now in being.

Hereupon *Iohn Iames* told *Osburn*, he hoped he was a man of ſome Conſcience and Integrity, and that he feared wrongfully to take away the Life of a man, and how great a ſin it was, eſpecially to ſhed the Blood of them that feared the Lord.

Then the Court askt the Witneſs, where he was when the words were ſpoken? he ſaid he was in the Meeting-place, and he ſaid he heard *Iohn Iames* ſay, *That King* Charles *was a blood-thirſty tyrannical King, and that the Nobles of* England *were blood-thirſty; that he had drunk pritty deep of the Blood of the Saints already, in that he*

*had ſhed their blood twelve moneths agone at* Charing-Croſs, *and the blood of the Covenanters in* Scotland, *and that God had brought him in to that end, to fill up the meaſure of his Iniquity, and he had filled it up more in twelve moneths than in many years before.* They askt him if heard nothing concerning the Lords Battels? and he told them (as though he had forgot it) that he heard him ſay, *That they ſhould have Power in their hands, and that then they ſhould fight the Lords Battels more thorowly.* And they askt him if he heard any thing concerning the Ruin of the King? he anſwered, Yes, he heard him ſay, *That the Ruine of the King was very near.* Then they askt him, if thoſe were the words? he ſaid, he could not ſay they were the ſame words, but to the ſame ſubſtance.

Having done this, the Judge told *Iohn Iames* he had liberty to ſpeak for himſelf.

Whereupon he deſired the favour of the Court to thoſe Witneſſes he had attending the Court in reſpect of *Bernard Osburn*, Whereupon four Witneſſes were called into the Court, that gave Evidence that this *Bern. Osburn* confeſſed to them, he had ſworn againſt *Iohn Iames* he knew not vvhat: one of them declared further and more largely (that was near marriage to *Bernard Osburn*) that he had told her, *he did not only ſwear he knew not what, but that he was affrighted into what he ſwore:* he did ſay, That what he ſwore to, was firſt ſworn to by another man, and then brought to him in writing. The former Witneſſes declared, That moreover they deſired to know of *Bernard*, what he had ſworn againſt *Iohn Iames*, and he told them, *he could not tell except he heard the words repeated*; (though *B. Osburn* denyed in the face of the Court that ever he ſaid any ſuch things.) *John James* then told the Court, he had ſeveral Witneſſes attending the Court that were free, if they pleaſed, to prove, that the words charged upon him were not ſpoken. The Judge told him he might call in as many Witneſſes as he would, vvhereupon *Iohn Iames* called in four Witneſſes more, all which did teſtifie in the face of the Court, *that the words charged upon him were not ſpoken*; and the Court did, as before, give them the hearing.

Then the Judge bid the Jury take notice what had been ſpoke by the Kings Witneſſes and his. And then the Court told *Iohn Iames* that now he had free leave to ſpeak for himſelf, as much and as long as he pleaſed, if he had called all his Witneſſes; and told him that when the

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Kings Counſel had concluded he could ſpeak no more, but now he might ſay as much as he pleaſed. Then he ſpake with much liberty and freedom, the Court and all preſent giving attention to what he ſaid, which was to this purpoſe.

John James *his Defenſive Speech.*

HE ſaid he had ſomewhat to ſay, firſt, as to the form of the Charge, *viz. That he had maliciouſly, wickedly, traiterouſly, and by the inſtigation of the Devil, not having the fear of God before his eyes, &c.* He told them that in the fear of God he did deny it, and told them he had not a malicious thought againſt the Perſon of the King, but deſired the ſalvation of his ſoul, as of his own; that he had not dealt maliciouſly againſt the King, neither was inſtigated thereto by the Devil, and that by the goodneſs of the Lord, what he had done, he had done it in the fear of God; neither could he be judged, as he told them, as a malicious perſon againſt the King, in regard he never had any publick Imployment in the Nation, either againſt this King in being, or his Father, being a man of no account in the world, having not worn a ſword this 11 years; and therefore deſired they would in their underſtanding clear him from this Charge, as a perſon malicious againſt the King; And further he ſaid, he was a perſon that could not be ſuppoſed to have in his eye any thing of advantage in the world in ſo acting againſt the King. And as to the matter of the Charge; whereas it runs *that I* John James *had compaſſed, imagined and contrived the Death of the King*; *Iohn Iames* told the Court he did not well underſtand what they meant by *compaſſing the death of the King*, as compaſſing and imagining is ordinarily taken; he had not, neither was he capable of endeavouring the *Kings Death*, nor the *Change of the Government*, being a mean inconſiderable perſon, a man that had lived upon his Calling. And as to thoſe particulars laſtly charged upon him, he ſaid, he was not guilty of them, he did not ſay *the King was a bloody Tyrant, a blood-ſucker, a blood-thirſty man*, that in the fear of the Lord he did utterly deny, neither did he ſay any thing tending thereto. He further ſaid, he did not ſay *the King had ſhed the blood of the Saints at* Charing-Croſs *this time twelve moneth*: He did not ſay, *they, when they had Power in their hands, would improve it more thorowly for God, and that we did not fight the Lords Battels thorowly.* And whereas he was charged for contending for *Cromwel*, and that Power (that God had ſo eminently wiped off from the ſtage) he ſaid he did declare

againſt that Power, and were averſe to it, and did ſuffer under it in his meaſure; and told them he did not ſtand there as *Cromwels Advocate.* Then did he endeavour to ſpeak more particularly to the Jury, letting them know that in a ſecondary way his life was in their hands; and it was, in the eye of reaſon, in their power to ſave or deſtroy him; and wiſhed them to have a care of ſhedding Innocent Blood, and told them *becauſe of Innocent Blood the Land did mourn,* to wit, for the Blood ſhed in Queen *Maries* dayes and King *Henry* the eighth; and if there were any Innocent Blood ſhed ſince, he deſired no more may be added to it: He told them he did deſire they would act conſciencioufly and not be over-awed by any man; he told them they were his Judges in Law of matter of fact, and deſired them to be tender of his Blood. He ſaid, he ſhould ſay very little more for himſelf, but one word for the Lord, and therfore deſired he might have his fear before him; and although he was the pooreſt and meaneſt for ſuch a work, yet he was called forth, and did declare, *That the Lord Jeſus Chriſt was King of Nations, as well as King of Saints, and that the Government of all Kingdoms did of right belong to him,* and he quoted *Rev.* 11. 15. *And the ſeventh Angel ſounded, and there were great voices in Heaven, ſaying, The Kingdoms of this world are become the Kingdoms of our Lord and of his Chriſt, and he ſhall reign for ever & ever.*

And when he had ſo ſpoke, the Lord Chief Juſtice *Foſter* interrupted him, ſaying, *Hold ſirrah, ſirrah, you think you are in the Conventicle in* White-Chappel *preaching,* and thereupon commanded the Clerk to reade the Act of Parliam. entituled, *An Act for the preſervation of the Kings Perſon and Government,* wherein was expreſt to this purpoſe, *That whoſoever ſhall contrive or endeavour to levy War againſt the King or Government, &c. or endeavour to compaſs or contrive the Death of the King, his Wound or Maim; or that by Printing, Preaching, Writing, or other ſpeaking, endeavour the ſame; then every ſuch perſon and perſons ſhall be lookt upon as Traytors to the King, and ſhall be proceeded againſt as in the caſe of High Treaſon, &c.* Which when the Clerk had read,

*John James* deſired liberty to ſpeak, deſiring the Court to produce a Statute that would reach his Caſe, for that did not, but the Caſe of ſuch as had endeavoured to levy War againſt the King, or had compaſt or contrived his Death or Maim; but he had not contrived or compaſt the Death of the *King,* or the Change of the Government

within or without his Dominions, therefore desired a Statute might be produced that might reach his Case, for he conceived that was short.

The Judge told him, it fully reached his Case.

And one of the Kings Council made Answer, That it reached him in every Case.

And another of the Council said, Treason was the first conception, and the first evil thought in the heart, and Treason was made visible by *Preaching*, or *Printing*, or *Speaking*, &c. which was a manifestation of the Things that were in the heart.

This being spoken, the Judge asked him, if he had any more to say for himself, and told him, if he did not speak now, the Kings Council would enter upon their Plea, and then he must speak no more for himself.

He told them, he had one word to the Jury, which he desired to lay before them, it was a scripture written in the 29 of *Isaiah* 21. *That make a man an offender for a word, and lay a snare for him that reproveth in the Gate.*

Whereupon the Judge told him, it was not to be born, for he did enveigh against the Parliament. Though,

He said, he had not the least thought of the Parliament, but he spake it to let the Jury know, that if he were guilty of those words, there was no Law of God to take away a mans Life for words.

Hereupon the Kings Council pleaded severally one after another.

First Serjeant *Glyn* stood up and said, Brother *Maynard*, Shall we not Answer something to what the Prisoner hath objected? So *Glynne* began.

*The Substance of Serjeant* Glynn's *Speech.*

He told the Jury, That if they proved the words alledged in the Indictment substantially, though it were not Adequate thereunto in every *Tittle* and *Iota*, yet it was sufficient to satisfie their consciences, and to find the Prisoner guilty of High Treason.

First he began with the Exception taken unto the first Witnesse, that he stood without the window, and therefore could not easily discern the visage and physiognomy of the Prisoner that was there a preaching. He told them, He had sworn expresly it was the same person, and that, as he came in into the Yard, he was there a preaching, and as he went away to the Justice of peace he saw him, and the Justice did seize the same person and find him preaching when he came; and therefore it must be him and no other. And told them, that the Witnesse could have no end in discovering of it, for if he had kept silence he had consented, and so been guilty of misprision of Treason.

Then said he, as to the Exception taken against the fourth Witnesse, that he said he swore he knew not what, and could not tell what he had sworn to.

He said, This was no cause to Reject this Evidence; For, peradventure he could not well call to mind, the several words that were spoken, or peradventure he would not tell them, because he might suppose that they were sent to ensnare him in his evidence, that they might make it void.

Then as to the Witnesses that were brought on the part of the Prisoner, to testify, that no such words were spoken; he said, as to that he must refer it unto the consciences of the Jury. But he said, he conceived that it was altogether immaterial;

terial; For the Question is not, what he did not say, but what he did say. They say that he did not say these words, but they do not say what he did.

Then stept up Sergeant *Maynard* and said.

That as to the Evidence of those three persons, he said, his Brother *Glynne* had spoken so much, and so well, that he could add no more, or very little; and urged the same things that Serjeant *Glynne* did; and further said that the Prisoner spoke much of his integrity, and innocency; I believe (saith he) Gentlemen of the Jury, never was there any offender, or the vilest miscreant in the world that would ever have received the reward of his doings if his own excuse and protestation might have saved him.

Then he said, As for the blood of the Saints that was spilt this time twelvemonth, he said they were sad Saints, such Saints (said he) as would have cut all our throates.

Then *John James* desired to be heard one word, that that Gentleman had untruly alledged against him, but the Court refused to allow him the liberty.

Then stood up Sir *Heneage Finch*, Solicitor general.

## *The Substance of Sir* Heneage Finch *his Speech.*

My Lord, and you Gentlemen of the *Jury*, be it known unto you, and to all that hear me this day, That the Prisoner at the Bar is not arrained for his Conscience or Religion, but for *Treason* and *Rebellion*, for horrid *Treason* and *Rebellion*, for spurning against the meekest King in the Earth. His Majesty, to the great and unexpressable grief of his heart, did not think there was a person so unworthy, left within his Dominions, that would have lifted up the heel against him, after 20 Years rejecting of his Majesty and his Royal Father, and having also conferred this grace upon us, to reduce us to a state of innocency. he could not think there was any Gaul left in our hearts, or any guile to be found in our mouths.

He then prest his *Treason* upon the Consciences of the *Jury*, who as he told them, would affright their Consciences with his Innocency. And told them, how that the punishment of this Offendor might affright the like Malefactors for the future. And said that there were a People, that under the pretence of Religion had the Liberty of Conscience allowed by the King for a time, till they were better informed, but *this man, and those of his mind, are none of those men*; but they endeavour not onely to destroy the *Monarch*, but *Monarchy it self*; not only in *England*, but all the world over, this is the principle that they are of, therefore I desire the Jury to take notice, what may be their duty upon that account. And that when the Prisoner was preaching that pernitious Sermon, he prest it with the peril of their salvation, and now would affright you upon the account of innocent blood; but you shall find, if his blood be rightly and swiftly pursued, it may be a means of preventing the shedding of the blood of thousands, for the time to come. And withal did desire them to consider further, that the great trouble this Nation had undergone for these 20 Years last past, sprung from Pulpits, Conventicles, and seditious Preaching, and therefore if these Causes were taken away, it might prevent such evil Effects for the future. And said, That as to the Evidence he had produced, it had been well spoke to by the two Serjeants that spoke last: And as to that Evidence by the women, he said, they had no reason to tell

what

what was ſaid by *John James*, for thereby they would make themſelves guilty of miſpriſion of Treaſon, which is to be puniſhed with perpetual impriſonment, confiſcation of Goods, and the loſs of the profits of Lands during life.

That's well obſerved, ſaid my Lord to the Solicitor.

Then Judge *Foſter* endeavoured further to inform the Jury, and to incenſe them againſt his principle, telling them, that he was of the ſame ſpirit with thoſe that did indeavour heretofore to put all the Nation in a flame, and to ſet every one againſt each other; and ſaid, *No Treaſon was comparable to that Treaſon that was covered with a pretence of Religion.*

This being done, and the Jury ready to go forth, *John James* deſired the Court to favour him with one word to the Jury.

They told him he had had a great deal of Liberty and time to ſpeak, but now he ſhould ſpeak no more.

Then *John James* replied, *That if they would not ſuffer him to ſpeak to his Jury, they had as good have hanged him at* Bulſtake-Alley *Gate, before he came there, and not brought him thither to cover over the matter with the pretence of Law.*

This being ſpoken, the *Judge* gave him a ſore rebuke, and told him he was not to be Judge in the Caſe.

Then my Lord and the Judges laid their heads and conferred together, whereupon my Lord ſaid thus to the *Jury*, or to this effect, You have heard the Evidence; you are to find the matter of fact as it is laid before you, whereof you are the proper Judges, and I pray God direct you.

Then the Kings Counſel and the Jury departed from the Bar; and at the return of the Jury, being about a quarter of an hour, the Attorney and Sollicitor General came back into the Court with them.

Whereupon the Cryer called them all by name, and the Clarke asked them if they were all agreed; and they anſwered, Yes.

Then the Clerk of the Crown commanded the Priſoner to hold up his hand, and asked the Jury, How ſay you, Is *John James*, who hath been arraigned and tried, guilty of the Treaſon alledged in the Indictment, or not guilty?

And the foreman, which was *Charles Pittfield* ſaid, *Guilty according to the Indictment.*

Then the Attorney General prayed Judgement for the King; To that the Court anſwered, never the ſame day he is arraigned, but appoint what day the Priſoner ſhall be brought, and it ſhall be granted. Then the Attorney and Solicitor conferred together, and the Attorney ſaid, On *Friday* next; till which time he was remanded to the *Kings-Bench* Priſon in *Southwark.*

*His Wifes Application to the King, after her Husband was Caſt.*

In the intervail betwixt his Caſting and Condemnation, upon the 4th day of the Week in the Evening, his Wife by advice of ſome Friends, endeavoured to make Addreſſe to the King, to acquaint him with her Husbands Innocency, and the Condition of thoſe looſe perſons who had falſly accuſed him, which ſhe put in writing, leſt ſhe might either want an opportuniy, or not have courage enough to ſpeak to him, and with ſome difficulty at laſt ſhe met with the King, as he came out of the Park, going into the Gallery, where ſhe preſented him with the Paper, which on the back-ſide was endorſed, *The humble Requeſt of Elizabeth James*; acquainting him alſo by word who ſhe was, to whom he held up his

finger

singer and said, *Oh no, James, he is a sweet Gentleman!* but following him for some further answer, the door was shut against her, which was all she could obtain at that time. The next morning she came again to the same place, where she had not long been, but the King came out of the Gallery to go into the *Park*, whom she followed down the staires, imploring his Answer to her Request, who then replied, *That he was a Rogue, and should be hanged*; one of the Lords attending him, asked her of whom she spake, whereunto the King answered, of *John James that Rogue; he shall be hanged, yea he shall be hanged.* And so she came away satisfied in her Conscience, that what she had done was but her duty.

## *What passed the third day of his Tryal*, Novemb. 22.

Being this day brought to the Bar, according to former order, the Clarke proceeded according to their manner, and told the Court, that *John James* had been arraigned and tried, &c. and had committed himself to *God and the Country* for Tryal, and by the Country was found guilty of the Crimes and Treasons alledged against him in the Indictment; and then it was demanded of *John James* what he had to say for himself, why sentence of death should not be passed upon him according to the Law, to which *John James* answered, That he had not much to say, onely two or three Scriptures he would leave with them. The first Scripture was the 26 *Jer. v.* 14, 15. *As for me, do as seemeth good unto you; but know you for a certain, that if ye put me to death, you shall surely bring innocent blood upon your selves, and upon this City, and upon the inhabitants thereof.*

The second Scripture was the 116. *Psal.* 15. *Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his Saints.* He also minded that good word of the Lord, *He that toucheth the Lords People, toucheth the apple of of his eye.* He told them he had not more to say for himself, onely one word for the Lord, and so he had done. *That Jesus Christ the Son of God, was King of* England, Scotland *and* Ireland, *and of all the Kingdoms of this World.* Which being spoken, they silenced him, and the Court proceeded to sentence, and the Judge pronounced sentence according to the Law, and said thus;

John James, *Thou hast been here Indicted, Arrained, and Tryed as a false Traytor to his Majesty, his Crown and Dignity, and hast put thy self upon the Tryal of God and the Conntry, and the Country have found thee Guilty; and therfore* John James *thou art to be carried from hence to Prison, and from thence to the place of Execution, and there to be Hanged by the Neck, and being yet alive, to be cut down, and thy Bowels to be taken out (a fire being prepared) and to be burnt before thy face, and thy Head to be severed from thy Body, and thy Body to be quartered, and thy Head and Body to be disposed according to the Kings pleasure.*

This being done *John James* had onely time to say, *Blessed be God, whom man hath condemned, God hath justified.*

*Some*

*Some Account of the Fees and Charges demanded and paid by* John James *to the Officers and Jaylors, during his Tryal and Impriſonment.*

THat notwithſtanding his great poverty, who (as it was well known) what through the means of his *Calling, but eſpecially the weakneſs of his body) had much adoe for this many years to get Bread for his Family, theſe following Fees were exacted from him. Firſt (beſides the Charges and Fees paid by him in *Newgate*) upon his Arraignment at *Weſtminſter*, and firſt Commitment to the *Kings-Bench-Priſon*, the Tipſtaffe-men received of him 13 s. for the Judges Clerks, their own and Officers Fees; and 1 s. for his Priſon in the *Kings-Head Tavern* in *Weſtminſter*, which they demanding with rigor, he told them he was a poor man, and had it not to give them; and that they would have his Life, and he thought that might ſuffice them: but they would abate him nothing; for their Fees (they ſaid) they muſt have; Whereupon he was conſtrained to borrow the ſame at *Weſtminſter* to pay them.

** He was for ſome years a Small-Coal-man, but not able to undergo that Calling, by reaſon of weakneſſe (though the moſt profitable to him of any other) was conſtrained to undertake Ribbon-weaving, his former Profeſſion, which ſcarcely afforded him Bread.*

Upon his coming to the *Kings-Bench-Priſon*, Sir *John Lenthal* received of him for Fees the ſum of 15 s. and then turned him into a Yard where it rained upon him; and after, (for ſome ſhelter he got amongſt them in an Alehouſe) he paid 3s. 6 d.

After he was caſt for his Life, the Tipſtaff-men belonging to the *Kings-Bench* at *Weſtminſter* demanded his Cloak of him, which he refuſing to give, they took by violence, ſaying, *It muſt be divided amongſt ſeveral of them*; which afterwards they offered to ſell him: but he told them he had but a little time to live, and thoſe Cloaths he had ſhould now ſerve him. After his return to the *Kings-Bench-Priſon*, he was conſtrained to pay 5 s. to keep in his former Priſon-Chamber, and they forced him alſo to dyet a man they put with him to look after him during his ſtay there.

And all the time of his Tryal they would hurry him to Alehouſes, and ſtill make him pay for all; and put him to all charges of going by Water, when he was brought to and from his Tryals.

Further, His Wife was conſtrained to pay to *Hicks* the Keeper of the *Preſſe-yard*, the ſum of 16 s. for his Chamber-rent during his continuance there, which was not above three or four dayes.

The *Hangman* alſo the day before his Execution, came to demand Money, that he might be favourable to him at his Death: He asking what would ſatisfie him? the *Hangman* demanded Twenty pounds; but *John James* pleading poverty, he fell to Ten pounds; but in concluſion told him, if he would not give him Five pounds, he would torture him exceedingly: To which *John James* ſaid, he muſt leave that to his mercy, for he had nothing to give him.

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## *Some occaſional Speeches in the Kings-Bench Priſon upon his firſt Commitment there.*

A Friend coming to viſit him at the *Kings-Bench*, and finding him in his Bed, went to his Bed ſide and asked him how he did? He then made relation of the ſeveral wayes that God and man had taken with him: told that Friend, that touching his Spirit he had much to do while in *Newgate*; that one whole day and night he was aſſaulted with very horrible Temptations, and ſometimes was much preſſed to make known to his *Brethren* what he met withal; but this Satan hindred for a long time, telling him it would but expoſe him to be ſlighted, &c. But at laſt the Lord overcame, and he did acquaint them with his Condition, who immediatly betook themſelves to Prayer for him, and God was near unto them, and broke in upon him with that word, 2 *Sam.* 23. 5. *Although my houſe be not ſo with God, yet he hath made with me an everlaſting Covenant, ordered in all things and ſure*; which came with wonderfull efficacy, and (ſaid he) for preſent ſet me into perfect liberty from all my fears: but in ſome time Satan came on again, and would endeavour to weaken the force of the Word to him, by ſhewing him how weak and inconſiderable he was, and ſhort of *David*, to whom that word was ſpoken: But this Cloud was quickly blown over, and the Lord by two words of Scripture fully anſwered

all;

all; one of which was, 2 *Cor.* 8. 12. If there be first a willing mind it is accepted according to that a man hath, and not according that he hath not; and the other, that word of the Apostle, *It is God who worketh in us both to will and to do, according to his good pleasure.* And proceeding to acquaint his Friend with the Lord's wayes further with him, he said, I was after this brought from *Newgate* to this place, where, upon my first coming, I was dealt hardly with, and first put into a place where it rained upon me; complaining of this, I had leave to go into an Alehouse, which liberty I purchased with my Money; in which place I was attended from three till nine of the clock with cruel mockings, by one company after another; and afterwards, though I desired to be alone, yet could not obtain it, but would have put me with a very unsuitable company; yet with much ado obtained the company, whose civilities I cannot but acknowledge, though I would rather have been alone; and truly for some time I was troubled, and said, as he of old, *Why should I live any longer? Lord, take away my Life,* (1 *King.* 19. 5.) But this also the Lord in some little time rebuked, and I had much calmness in my spirit, and very suddenly by Grace arrived to my Rejoycings in God, and now I bless the Lord I am well; sometimes I am putting the Halter about my neck, and putting the Sled before my eyes, to see if it will terrifie me; but, through Grace, they are not at all terrible (as yet) to me; and he hoped the Lord would keep him to the end, or words to this purpose: speaking also to the same Friend, with admiration that such a poor contemptible wretch as he was, should be called forth into such service for the Lord. And as to them that sought his Life, there was no advantage could accrue to them thereby, they were not like to get one peny by him, having for these eight years been put to such exigencies to get a livelihood, that many a night he has not been able to take his rest, for the sore and painful labour he had taken the day before with his weak body, to get food for his poor Family; but if the Lord would glorifie Himself by such a worm, he desired to be given up to his dispose.

After he was carried from the Court, being found guilty, he was asked how it was with him? he answered, Very well, I bless the Lord; I am a great deal more at ease in my mind than I was before, for the Verdict of the Jury hath not at all terrified me.

Another Friend visiting him in the same place, found him exceeding chearful, and much filled with the sence of the goodness of the Lord,

declaring in theſe very expreſſions, that he could truly ſay, Whatever the Lord had ſpoken of in his bleſſed Word, in relation to any tryals he had hitherto met withal, He had been every way as good as His Word.

Some other Friends viſiting him at the ſame Priſon, after ſome diſcourſe, he deſired them not to be troubled, for the Lord had compaſt him about that he had neither fear nor torment, yet (he ſaid) he had look'd upon all their Inſtruments of death, and was filled with Joy and Peace unutterable, but when he had any thoughts of living he had nothing but trouble and diſtraction; for alas (ſaid he) what will my Life ſignifie? it will ſignifie but little; but my Blood will cry aloud, it will ſpeak louder than all my Life. I have ſpoke many a time at a higher rate for the Kingdom of Chriſt than I did then, but my hour was not come.

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*Some Speeches uttered by him in the Dungeon in* Newgate, *after the Sentence was pronounced againſt him.*

ONe viſiting him in that place, expreſſed much trouble on his behalf, and could not refrain weeping; who came to the party ſmiling and ſaid, I beſeech you let me not ſee any of this, for all is well, and therefore forbear I beſeech you ſuch carriage, which will too much encourage the enemies of the Lord; therefore I pray you let me not ſee a ſad countenance from any of you.

To ſeveral he uttered theſe words; O ſaith he, this poor weak body has been often near the gates of death in my own thoughts, and others, and now that the Lord ſhould make choice of ſo poor a Carcaſs to put it off at ſuch a rate, Oh (ſaid he, with much rejoycing) bleſſed be God! let him take it.

Two of his Fellow-priſoners coming unto him at that place, found him at Prayer with ſome Friends, who obſerved that his heart was much enlarged in Thankſgiving and Praiſes for that choice Help and Aſſiſtance the Lord had given him in the Work he had been called to, who after he had ended, ſaluted them, rejoycing greatly to ſee them; telling them of his hardſhips he had endured ſince he was taken from them, and alſo ſpake of the goodneſs of the Lord, which he judged to

be

be great towards him, in that he was ſupported with ſuitable ſtrength, and made willing to do the good pleaſure of his Father, either in Life or Death; and alſo ſaid, he had gotten the ſtart of his Brethren, and was going to a place where the *Wicked ceaſe from troubling*, and *where the Priſoners be at reſt*, (Job 3. 17, 18.) Declaring further to them, that God had been eminently with him, in delivering him from all the fears he lay under while the Tryal was upon him; and although it was hard to fleſh and blood to look the King of Terrour in the face, yet when the Lord brought him to it, it was made eaſie to him; for which he thanked God, and bid his Friends be encouraged, ſaying, That his dear Lord had helped him over two of his ſteps, and now he had but one more before he ſhould be free from all that care and fear of diſhonouring God, or grieving his People in the Work he was called to: and while he was ſpeaking of the Goodneſs of the Lord to him in an admiring manner, that God ſhould chooſe and own ſuch a Contemptible creature as he was, he preſently reflected upon himſelf, fearing leſt he might be too much lifted up, but withal ſaying, he was now going to a place where his ſins ſhould trouble him no more.

Another Friend viſiting of him in that place, asking him how he did? ſaid, I bleſſe God I am well, never better in all my life. I'le tell thee Brother, never a poor creature hath more dreaded this condition than I have done; I have been afraid of a Priſon, my heart would tremble to think of it; I would have gone out of the Land to have eſcaped a Priſon; but now it is all gone, every cloud is blown over; I bleſs God, I do no more fear this Death, than to lye down upon this Bed. And to another he ſaid, The Sentence that day was no more to him than the eating of thoſe Raiſons in his hand, ſaying, O how good is God! there is ground of encouragement in the Lords dealing with ſuch a poor worm as I, for all the Saints to truſt in Him in every condition.

Upon the Seventh day in the morning, being the day after his Sentence, ſome Friends coming to ſee him before he was unlock'd, none being in the Room but his Wife and himſelf, he was in prayer for ſome good time, and that in more than ordinary enlargement, (though the ſaid Friends could only hear ſome ſound of words;) after he had concluded, and the Door being opened, being asked how he did, and how it was with him in his ſpirit? his anſwer was, Very well, I bleſs the Lord, never better in all my life; my Wife and I have had the beſt

morning

morning that ever we had, we have been giving up one another to the Lord; and I bleſſe the Lord, he hath made us as willing to part one from another, as ever we were to come together.

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*Some Paſſages and Speeches in the Preſſe-yard in* Newgate, *after his removal from the Dungeon, three or four dayes before he ſuffered.*

UPon the firſt day of the week, after the Sentence of Condemnation was paſſed upon him, ſeveral Friends being come to ſee him, he told them that with the help of the Lord he would now finiſh that Diſcourſe amongſt them, that he was upon at *White-Chappel* when he was taken Priſoner; for then (he ſaid) he was pulled down before he had gone far in it, and ſo he read the Scripture to them.

The Scripture was,

1 *Cor.* 6. laſt verſe.

*For you are bought with a Price, &c.*

In the opening of which bleſſed portion of Truth, he was made a choice bleſſing to them that were with him; his words came upon them like the ſmall rain upon the tender herbs, and as the dew upon the graſſe.

He firſt treated of the great coſt the Almighty was at to redeem our bodies and ſpirits, as to what the Son of his Love underwent upon that account. And, ſecondly, What it was to glorifie God in our bodies and ſpirits, as to obedience in reſpect to the Rule of Gods Word, and that we were in great danger to fall ſhort in our duties therein, and except we had more than ordinary zeal and watchfulneſs, we might loſe our holy frames of ſpirit, &c. But that which was moſt conſiderable in the Concluſion, he treated of glorifying God in the body, by giving it up in the ſpirit to ſuffer for Righteouſneſs ſake, ſhewing how many Prophets, Apoſtles, and precious Saints had glorified God that way, and had great joy in that ſervice; and that our dear Lord Jeſus was perfect through ſufferings, and how he did rejoyce in that he had a body given him to do the will of God, not only as to obedience to the *Preceptive* Will of the Father, but alſo to fulfill all the *Prophecies* that had been ſpoken of Him, that related to his ſuffering, *&c.*

And

And then ſaid, He did not think when he began to ſpeak from that Text in *White-Chappel*, that he ſhould ſo ſuddenly have been called to glorify God in his body in that way that he was now likely; yet, inaſmuch as it was his Fathers good pleaſure ſo to honour ſuch a poor worm as he was, to give him, not only to *believe* in his Name, but alſo to *ſuffer* for his Sake, his ſoul did rejoyce in the Lord; and as he had a Baptiſm to be baptized withal, he was ſtrained till it was accompliſhed.

The Meſſenger that brought the tidings from the Under-Sheriff of his Execution, coming the ſecond day of the week to him, found him in Bed, and ſaid he had brought him ſad news; who raiſing himſelf in his Bed, ſaid, God forbid, what can that be? who ſaid, that the next fourth day he was ordered to go to his Execution. He replyed, Bleſſed be God, that is good news. Whereupon a Friend coming in, he ſaid, Ah! now I can invite thee to my Wedding, for I know now my Wedding day: Upon the bringing of which news that Scripture was preſented to him with much power, *The Cup which my Father hath given me to drink, ſhall I not drink it?*

Upon the ſecond day of the week in the afternoon, ſeveral Friends being with him, he judging that the greateſt cauſe of the Sentence and Condemnation paſſed upon him, was in reſpect to his Principle of the *Fifth Kingdom*, therefore he deſired to leave with them ſome of his Scripture-grounds for that his perſwaſion, for which he was now about to ſuffer, deſiring the ſame might be committed to writing, which was as followeth. He ſaid,

I do really judge that the Lord Jeſus Chriſt that is now at the right hand of the Father, ſhall have the Kingdoms of the World. I ſhall quote ſome Scriptures for it; The firſt is in *Pſal.*2.8. *Ask of me, and I will give thee the Heathen for thine Inheritance, and the uttermoſt parts of the Earth for thy Poſſeſſion*: and this He muſt have by Gods decree, as in ver.7. *I declare the Decree, the Lord hath ſaid unto me, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee.* That Chriſt muſt have the Heathen for his Inheritance, and the uttermoſt parts of the Earth for his Poſſeſſion, is proved clear from hence. There is another word in *Pſa.*72. from the beginning of the *Pſalm* to the end of the 15 verſe, but more eſpecially the 8, 9, & 10 verſes: *He ſhall have Dominion alſo from Sea to Sea, and from the River to the ends of the Earth: they that dwell in the Wilderneſs ſhall bow before Him, and his*

*Enemies*

*Enemies shall lick the dust: the Kings of* Tarshish, *and of the Isles, shall bring Presents, the Kings of* Sheba *and* Seba *shall offer Gifts.* Another Scripture is in the ninth of *Isaiah* (though I might urge many more Scriptures, as *Psal.* 145. about the beginning of that Psalm, &c.) *Isa.* 9. 6. *For unto us a Child is born, unto us a Son is given, and the Government shall be upon his Shoulder; and his Name shall be called, Wonderful Counsellor, The Mighty God, The Everlasting Father, The Prince of Peace; Of the increase of his Government and Peace there shall be no end, upon the Throne of* David, *and upon his Kingdom, to order it, and to establish it with Judgment and with Justice, &c.* These Scriptures are very clear to prove that Jesus Christ must have the Government. Another full word is in *Isa.* 53. 12. (and that by purchase) *Therefore will I divide him a portion with the great, and he shall divide the portion with the strong, because he hath poured out his soul unto death, &c.* That Jesus Christ must have the Government is clear, as he is the son of *David*, Luk. 1. 31, 32, 33. *And behold, thou shalt conceive in the womb, and bring forth a Son, and shalt call his name JESUS; He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Highest: And the Lord God shall give unto Him the Throne of his father* David, *and He shall reign over the house of* Jacob *for ever, and of his Kingdom there shall be no end.* I judge this Scripture to be equivolent to that in *Isa.* 9. 6. *Unto us a Child is born, &c.* respecting Christ as he is the son of *David.* But these Scriptures may suffice for the old Testament. The Apostle *Paul* clearly asserts this Truth of the *Fifth Kingdom*, in 1 Tim. 6. 15. *Which in his time he will shew, who is the blessed and only Potentate, the King of kings, and Lord of lords.* The Apostle asserts Jesus Christ to be the *only Potentate, King of kings, and Lord of lords*; which is the very Superscription he brings upon the thigh when He comes to make war with the Horns, *Rev.* 19. 16. *He hath on his Vesture and on his Thigh a Name written, KING of Kings, and LORD of Lords.* That Jesus Christ must have the Government, that he must have the Kingdoms of the World is very clear; but to the further proof thereof, take *Rev.* 11. 15. *The seventh Angel sounded, and there were great voices in Heaven, saying, The Kingdoms of this world are become the Kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ, and He shall reign for ever and ever.*

If any now say, We grant that Jesus Christ shall have Dominion and Power, and shall reign for ever, but Jesus Christ says, *His Kingdom is not of this World.* *Answ.*

*Answ.* It's true, Christ spake truth, Christs Kingdom was not then in this world, or of this world; but what is this to that? there is a time that his Kingdom must be of this world, the Scripture saith it plainly, I never heard any allegorize this Text, but have been forced to take it in the plain sense of the words; the Scripture saith it plainly, if that word in *Joh.* 5. 26, 27. be rightly understood: *For as the Father hath Life in himself, so hath he given to the Son to have Life in himself; and hath given Him Authority to execute Judgment also, because he is the Son of Man.* Again, this Truth is plain from that of *Daniel* (which I thought not to have urged) ch. 7. 18. compared with the 27 verse. Ver. 18. *But the Saints of the Most High shall take the Kingdom, and possess the Kingdom for ever, even for ever and ever.* And ver. 27. *And the Kingdom and Dominion, and the greatness of the Kingdom under the whole Heaven, shall be given to the People of the Saints of the Most High, whose Kingdom is an everlasting Kingdom, and all Dominions shall serve and obey Him.* Now observe, here is two things I take notice of, to prove that this Kingdom is an outward visible Kingdom. First, the Kingdom that the Saints take is from the fourth Beast; the Beast had never to do within any Kingdom but what is below in the lower Region; the Kingdom that the Saints take, which is said to be Christs Kingdom, (in the 27 verse) is an outward Kingdom, and therefore not a spiritual Kingdom. That is one Reason. Secondly, another Reason is, It is the Kingdom and Dominion, and the greatness of the Kingdom under the whole Heaven; and therefore it must be an outward Kingdom, and must be equivolent to that, *Rev.* 11. 15. *The Kingdoms of this World are become the Kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ, &c.*

The next thing that I have to say, will be as to the Nature of this Kingdom in the Administration thereof, which will be very righteous and holy; which you have clearly in *Isa.* 32. 1, 2. *Behold, a King shall reign in Righteousness, and Princes shall rule in Judgment,* &c. *Isa.* 1. 26. hath respect to the same time, *I will restore thy Judges as at the first, and thy Counsellors as at the beginning; afterwards thou shalt be called the City of Righteousness, the Faithful City.* This Kingdom will be a Kingdom wherein the Laws of God will be the only Laws extant, the Laws of God will be the only Laws in being; and those that shall have the executive power of those Laws, will be men qualified accordingly, moulded according to that holy and just

Law: As to the perſons that ſhall have the Executive Power of that Government, you have in *Iſa.* 60. 17. *I will alſo make thy Officers Peace, and thine Exactors Righteouſneſs.*

The next thing (I muſt but touch upon things) How Jeſus Chriſt muſt come by this Kingdom; and that is, He ſhall uſe his People in his hand as his *Battle-ax and Weapon of War* for the bringing in the Kingdoms of this World into ſubjection to Him. A few Scriptures (and but a few) as to this, *Iſa.* 41. 14 ver. but more eſpecially the 15, & 16 verſes, the Prophet, ſpeaking of *Jacob*, ſaith, *Behold, I will make thee a new ſharp-threſhing Inſtrument, having teeth; thou ſhalt threſh the Mountains, and beat them ſmall, and ſhalt make the Hills as chaff; thou ſhalt fan them, and the wind ſhall carry them away, &c.* The next Scripture is in *Jer.* 51. 20, 21. *Thou art my Battle-ax* (ſpeaking to his own People) *and Weapons of War; for with thee will I break in pieces the Nations, and with thee will I deſtroy Kingdoms, &c.* I might produce many Scriptures more, that God will make uſe of his People in doing of this great work: *Rev.* 17. 14. *Theſe ſhall make War with the Lamb, and the Lamb ſhall overcome them; for he is Lord of lords, and King of kings: and they that are with him, are Called, and Choſen, and Faithful.* In the great work of Jeſus Chriſt againſt the Horns, he hath a Remnant *called*, and *faithful*, and *choſen*, ſtanding by him in this Work, which doth mightily correſpond with thoſe two former Prophecies. Therefore, ſeeing that the Lord will make uſe of his People as his Battle-ax and Weapon of War; and that they are a faithful, and called, and choſen Remnant, I only leave this one word by way of exhortation to the Lord's People that have faith in theſe Prophecies, to be looking to the qualifications of this choſen Remnant, and that they have in *Rev.* 14. 3, 4, 5. *They ſung as it were a new Song before the Throne, and before the four Beaſts, and the Elders, and no man could learn that Song but the hundred and forty and four thouſand which were redeemed from the Earth, &c.* They that ſerve the Lord in this great Work, they muſt be a Remnant indeed, redeemed from the Earth. I preſs the Lords People very earneſtly to look to the qualifications of that Remnant that muſt ſerve the Lord, and ſee how it is with them, whether or no they are a people ſo qualified, a People indeed *redeemed from the Earth*, a People indeed taken from among men, a People *in whoſe mouth is no guile*, a People *that have not defiled themſelves with women*, a People *that are Virgins*,

and

and have kept a *Virgin-like Spirit*: And I ſhall ſay no more, but leave what hath been ſpoken as ſome Scripture-evidence of my Judgment aforeſaid.

In this interval between the Sentence and his Execution, ſeveral perſons of quality came to viſit him, both Men and Women, Courtiers and others, whoſe coming were chiefly to this end and purpoſe, to perſwade him to petition the King for his Life, and further to lay forth his Innocency; and eſpecially one of Eminency in the City, did labour much with him to that end: To whom he did reply, as uſually to others in that caſe, That he had diſcharged his Duty and Conſcience already in the clearing of himſelf, and to the King he had done no wrong; and therefore would ſubmit himſelf to the Lord, and reſt ſatisfied in his Good-pleaſure. The ſaid party of note afterwards urged his Wife that ſhe would petition, if her Husband had not that freedom; and withal, as an Argument to provoke her thereto, told her it might be a means to prevent the cry of innocent blood, which otherwiſe might be brought upon them: To whom ſhe gave a particular account what means ſhe had already uſed to that purpoſe, and what ſucceſs ſhe had (according as has been before recited) which gave him ſatisfaction in that matter.

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*Some Collections and Obſervations of a Friend, that was frequently with him during his Impriſonment, till the time of his Execution.*

HE was for the moſt part born up in a ſweet ſpiritual rejoycing frame, and his words were gracious, much rejoycing in the Lord, and admiring at his Bounty towards ſuch a poor Worm as he was, inaſmuch as he was accounted worthy to ſuffer for ſo glorious a Cauſe, even for Teſtifying to the Kingdom of Chriſt and the Righteouſneſs thereof, and againſt the Kingdom of this World and the Wickedneſs thereof; and alſo, in that he was a *Companion* of them that had been ſo uſed, he being ſo unlike them; they being men of *Note*, and he a man of *no Name*; they were men *educated* and of *conſiderable breeding*, and he *hardly knew let-*

*ters*; their perſons had ſome *preſence* and *amiableneſs*, but he a *poor low deformed worm*, yea a *flea*; and ſometimes he would ſpeak with a ſmiling countenance, rejoycing that he was in his Tryals and Death made ſo like his precious Redeemer; firſt, in that he was delivered up into the hands of men to be judged through envy, &c. Secondly, and that Envy procured falſe Witneſſes, to lay to his charge things that he knew not; he himſelf, with many Witneſſes, affirming, that what was witneſſed againſt him was falſe, both as to the *matter* and *form*: And thirdly, that he was tryed in ſo high a Court, there being ſeveral Judges before him, and four of the Kings Counſellors, beſides the Atturney and Solicitor General, pleading againſt him to take away his Life; and a Jury of Knights and Gentlemen all of the ſame ſpirit, thirſting after his Blood, and in thus much, like to his precious Redeemer, according to the word of Prophecy ſpoken of him in this caſe, *Pſal.* 22. 12, 16. Fourthly, in that they robbed him of his Garments; for when they had condemned him, the Kings-Bench Jaylors took away his Cloak from him. And fifthly, in that he was to be hanged on a Tree, and that his Bowels were to be poured forth like water, and his Body not ſuffered to be put into a Grave, but ſet upon Poles, as is foretold of them, *Rev.* 11.

To all his Friends that came to viſit him he gave good Encouragement to Perſeverance and Conſtancy in the matters of Worſhip and Teſtimony; and that they ſhould not fear mans fear, nor be afraid, aſſuring them, that ſufferings from man for Righteouſneſs were not ſo bad as they ſeemed to be.

He did not like to ſee any that came to him to weep or be ſad, he would ſtill tell them, that concerning him they had no cauſe to mourn, but rather to rejoyce; for the Joy of the Lord was his ſtrength, and he was going to his Father, even to God his exceeding joy. But he ſaid to his Friends, they would rather ſee cauſe to weep for themſelves, for the world wherein they were to abide, for a time would be full of Defilements, and that even the groſneſs of Popery was coming up to try them.

The day before he ſuffered, he had many Friends came to ſee him, ſo that his Chamber was thronged one could hardly paſſe in it from one ſide to the other; he ſpake to every company, and

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to moſt of them particularly, with a ſweet joyful countenance, encouraging them much in the Lord, teſtifying to them that the Lord was good, and that there was no bitterneſs in his Service; and ſaid, that even that part which ſeemed to be moſt bitter, was made moſt ſweet, for in it the glory of Chriſt was moſt revealed.

The night before he ſuffered he ſat at Supper with ſome of his Friends, and ſaid unto them, *I ſup with you to night, but you would be glad to ſup with me to morrow night.* And would often ſay, he had many a night been in more care to get bread for his Family the day following, than for what he ſhould ſuffer the morrow.

That night he ſat up late till near the middle of the night, accompanied with ſeveral Friends; his diſcourſe was very ſweet and profitable, rejoycing in his portion, telling his Friends that he ſhould be taken out of the Land of his Labours, and ſhould be at Peace and Reſt before another night.

About three of the clock in the morning he had a ſharp combat with the King of Terrors for about an hour and halfs time, but ſpake no word, only had an inward wreſtling that put him into a ſweat; a Friend that watched with him read a portion of Scripture to him, which was the 11th of the *Hebrews*, and therein the Lord diſcovered, to the refreſhing of his ſoul, how that the way that he was to travel that day, had been travelled through by the Lord's Worthies in the dayes of old, and by Faith they endured both *ſtonings* and *ſawings aſſunder*, and accepted not of deliverance upon mans tearms, becauſe they looked for a better Reſurrection; and afterwards that Friend ſought the Lord, And then *John James* declared that the Comforter was come to him again, and had refreſhed his ſoul; and then he made himſelf ready, and in a joyful frame took his Bible and read *Jam.* 1. 12. *Bleſſed is the man that endureth Temptation; for when he is tryed, he ſhall receive the Crown of Life, which God hath prepared for them that love him.* From which Scripture he ſpake about half an hour, and did chiefly make forth the bleſſed Eſtate of thoſe that endured Torment for Righteouſneſs ſake, and how the Lord had given that choice Bleſſing only to his choiceſt Children in all Ages; and that it was no mercy to be tryed, if we yeelded to the Temptation; for when he is tryed, he ſhewed the Lord took great pleaſure in thoſe Servants that bore their Tryals, and came forth

like

like Gold: he instanced *Job*, and the holy Prophets and Martyrs, and our dear Lord Jesus who was a *tryed Stone*; declaring, That it was a way wherein men were greatly manifested to be Heirs of the prepared Glory, and that wherein men did as much manifest their love to God as men could be capable to do; yea, it was the way that our Lord took to hold out his Love to Mankind; And then shewed with great joy of heart, that he was going to follow his dear Lord through *Golgotha*, and to manifest his love to his Redeemer by shedding his hearts Blood for him, and passing that way to the prepared Glory, yea, to receive the Crown of Glory prepared for the *Beloved Ones*. And when he had ended his Discourse, he kneeled down and prayed, and praised the Lord, and was much enlarged, to the comfort and edification of the Friends that were with him. After that, he discoursed with much joy and sweetness, and said, That the Lord had granted him the desire of his heart; for he had desired and sought the Lord that he might be so far from being afraid of any amazement, that he might endure the Shame with joy when it came, and even long for the coming of the Sled; and he said, he did bless the Lord it was so with him, for he did much long for it before it came.

A little before his going forth, seeing some of his Friends come in who had particularly desired to accompany him to the place of Execution, said, *Here comes my Bride-men*, imbracing them with much joy. But, said he, *Must not the Sacrifice be bound?* one answered, *Yea, it must be bound with Cords:* he rejoycing, said, so he had heard.

Soon after the Keeper came into the Room, and calling him down to deliver him to the Sheriff, he told him he was a welcom messenger, he had waited long for him; and so he came with joy after the Keeper from his Chamber into the Press-yard, where hearing the noise of the multitude without, said to a Friend, *There would be by and by as many Hallelujahs, as shoutings of the people without*; and there they bound him about the back with a new Cord, and so had him into the Street like a Sheep to the slaughter; with a sweet smiling countenance he came into the Street, where he was a gazing-stock unto the multitude, and so being placed upon the Sled, drawn by a Team of Horses, attended by the Sheriffs men and a Company of Foot-Soldiers, was drawn along

to

to *Tyburn*; the way out of the Town being very foul, he was drawn through very much water and dirt, besides the very much slapping of the Horses that went besides him, yet for all this he was born up with much joy and chearfulness, not at all dismayed or terrified.

Being come to the place of Execution, he asked Mr. *Sterling* the Sheriff, whether he might not have liberty to speak to the people. He told him he might, if he would not speak seditiously (or words to that purpose.) Then *John James* addressed himself to speak as followeth.

## *The last* SPEECH *and* PRAYER *of* JOHN JAMES *at* Tyburn, *immediatly before his Execution,* Novemb. 26. 1661.

FIrst of all, that which I have to say before I go out of this world, is, to remove that which hath been thrown upon me by way of aspersion, as if I were a Jesuite. *Here at this place at this time are some that knew me from my Childhood, and can clear me in this particular; and therefore I shall only say this to it, That I am an English-man, never was out of the Nation in all my life; never had any knowledge of any other Tongue but the English Tongue, therefore altogether uncapable of such work and imployment as Jesuites are usually put upon, they being commonly men of great parts and learning, which I am not. I shall only speak this in respect of my Parentage and Education, I came of a very mean Family; I may truly say, as once *Gideon* did, *My Family is the least in all Manasseh, and I am the least in the Family*: And in truth I may justly say, my Family, the Family that I came of, it was a very mean Family, the meanest among all the Families of the People of the Lord at that day, as I knew of; and for my Parents, they were People fearing God, those that durst not for their lives, I say, they were

**This Vindication was occasioned by the coming of a Courtier, (and, as some said, one of the Bed-chamber) two or three nights before he suffered, to know if he was not a Jesuite, and if he had not been beyond the Seas.*

were those that durst not for their lives stain their Consciences in respect of Idolatry and Superstition that was up at that day.

I shall not need to speak any more to that, I came not here to boast of my Parentage; I declare I came of a mean Family, only my Parents were people fearing God, and did to their utmost, endeavour what they could to bring me up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord; and I hope my Father at his death had not ought to be charged with by way of blame: and my Mother is yet alive and attained to a good old age, and I trust so she is. But I shall not trouble you more about this matter, for I onely speak this, to take off that which was cast upon me, wherein I judged the Name of God would have suffered had I not cleared my self.

2. The second thing that I shall say, is, what I am in my Principles, what I am in respect of my Religion and Judgment, and I shall be brief as to that. I do own the title of a *Baptized Believer*, I do own the *Ordinances* and *Appointments* of Jesus Christ, I do own all the Principles in *Heb.6.* 1, 2. about the Doctrine of *Faith towards God*, and *Repentance from dead works*, the doctrine of *Baptisms* and *laying on of hands*, the *Resurrection of the Dead*, and *Eternal Judgment*. These are the Principles that I desire to own, and have in some weak measure been found walking in: I do not only own the Principles and Doctrines, declared in the sixt of the *Hebrews*, but I do own the Commandments of God, the *Ten Commandments* as they are expressed in the 20th of *Exodus*. I do here, as before the Lord, testifie, I durst not, I durst not willingly break the least of those Commandments to save my life; I do declare that the rather, because I would inform persons that I do own the Lord's holy Sabbath, the *seventh* day of the week to be the *Lord's Sabbath*; you know the Commandment, *Remember that thou keep holy the Seventh day*. I shall forbear to speak any more to that.

Again, further, in respect of my Principle (as that for which I judge I am here this day to suffer) That I do own the Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, (to wit) the *visible Kingdom of Jesus Christ here on Earth*, and I do desire to declare it humbly and in the fear of the Lord, *That JESUS CHRIST the Son of God is King of all the Nations in the World*, according to that in *Rev.* 11. 15.

15. upon the ſounding of the ſeventh Trumpet there was a great voice in Heaven, *The Kingdoms of this world are become the Kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Chriſt; and He ſhall reign for ever and ever.* There needs no more to be ſaid, though many more Scriptures might be brought to prove that it is ſo. It cannot be a ſpiritual Kingdom, the Text cannot be allegorical; for the Text ſaith expreſly, *The Kingdoms of This world, &c.* I ſhall endeavour not to tire you with many words; I do not come here (the Lord knows) to ſow Sedition, I have it not upon my heart, it hath not been my practice, though this be the pretended cauſe of bringing me hither; but the Lord knows, before whom I ſtand, and with whom I ſhall ſhortly be, that whatever I am accuſed of, as to matter of *fact*, I am free from it; I deſire you may hear it, and take notice of it, the things charged upon me are notoriouſly falſe, I ſpeak it as my laſt words, the Lord that knows all hearts, and one day will call all men to an Account, knows I ſpeak true, both in reſpect of the manner of the thing charged upon me, and in reſpect of the matter, notwithſtanding that ſeveral Witneſſes took the boldneſs to ſwear it in Court. I do in the fear of the Lord alſo tell you, that I bleſs the Lord I have not the leaſt hard thought of them that ſwore againſt me, I have not the leaſt hard thought upon that account, nor the leaſt riſing of ſpirit againſt either Judge, Jury, or Witneſſes, or any other, the Lord knows it, but have ſought their Pardon upon my bended knees, and I hope further ſhall do it, if God permit. I have one word to ſay to the People of God, and that is this; I would entreat you not to think ever the worſe of the wayes of God, becauſe you ſee ſuch a poor worm as I brought hither to ſuffer upon that account, let not the aſſembling of your ſelves together be any way a burden to you; know that word, *Forſake not the aſſembling of your ſelves together, as the manner of ſome is, but be inſtructing one another ſo much the more as you ſee the day approaching*, Heb. 10. 25, and let not any of the Wayes of God, any of the Ordinances of God, any of the Commandments of God be ever the worſe in your eyes, becauſe a poor worm that has profeſſed them, and has in ſome poor meaſure taſted in them of the Love of God, is brought hither, do not think the Words and Commandments of God are the worſe for that; And I would intreat you that you would ſtick

cloſe to them whatever diſpenſation may be at the door, which no man here knows one or other: but I ſay, whatever the wayes and diſpenſatious of God may be, though you may expect to ſuffer more and more, yet know that was the way that our Lord did go, the Captain of our Salvation was made perfect through ſufferings; and the Apoſtles and holy Chriſtians of old counted it great joy, they accounted it great joy to be filling up the meaſure of Chriſts ſufferings that are behind. And now my dear Friends, for Jeſus Chriſt's ſake be exhorted in the fear of God, not only to ſtick to thoſe Ordinances and Commandments of God wherein you are enlightned, but take that good word of God, in 1 *Chron.* 28. 8. it was *David's* advice to *Solomon*, the words are, *Solomon my ſon, keep and ſeek for all, &c.* do not content your ſelves with what you do already know, but endeavour in the fear of the Lord to be ſeeking after more. I would further charge every one of the People of the Lord, to have a care of defiling themſelves with any Idolatry, with any Superſtition, by treading in by-paths that may not ſuit the mind of God, however it may be accepted in the Land.

I ſhall not trouble you with much more, only a word to thoſe that have not yet an intereſt in Jeſus Chriſt, that cannot call God *Father*, I beſeech ſuch to conſider, It may be that God hath a mind by the words of a dying man to do their ſouls good, and I would adde a word; I beſeech you conſider, though you may not go the ſame way I go, you do not know how ſoon God may call for you by death, and therefore I ſpeak to them that are young ones in the firſt place, *That they remember their Creator in the dayes of their youth, before the evil day is come*, and the dayes wherein they themſelves ſhall ſay, *they have no pleaſure in them.* And to thoſe that are antient, that have ſpent the greateſt part of their time here, in ſporting in their own luſts, I would only ſay this to them, There is yet a day of Grace, *To day if you will hear his Voice.* Jeſus Chriſt is held forth in the Goſpel freely, He holds forth his Blood freely; for the worſt of ſinners are not too old, nor too wicked, nor too great, they are not too unclean for Jeſus Chriſt to pitty; and therefore Friends, conſider in the fear of the Lord whereabouts you are, and how the caſe ſtands with your poor ſouls. I have ſaid what I have to ſay, only I would

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desire that I might have liberty to wait upon God, to commit my Soul, and the Concernments of each other to the Lord in Prayer. Then he addressed himself to the Lord in Prayer, as followeth.

## His PRAYER.

*GLorious and Holy Majesty, in whose eyes all the Nations of the World are but as the drop of a bucket, or as the small dust of the ballance; and therefore O Lord, this mighty Concourse of People are nothing in thy sight. Thy eyes are open to the wayes of thy People, and thy ears are open to their Cryes, and thou wilt one day shew thy self strong in the behalf of them that fear thee, whose hearts are upright towards thee. Sweet Father! blessed be thy holy and dear Name, that such a poor worm as is before thee can call thee Father, that such a poor worm before thee can come and take hold of thee through thy dear Son. O Lord, O Lord, what am I, or what was my Father's house, that thou hast brought me hitherto? And, ah Lord, this has been but a small thing in thine eyes, but thou hast spoken thy Servants welfare for a great while to come, even to all Eternity. Dear Lord, in the audience of all this People, thy poor worm cannot but blesse thee that ever thou didst call him, and ever became acquainted with his Soul, that ever thou wert pleased to engage his Soul to walk before thee in thine own Paths; and, blessed be thy holy Name, thy Paths do not seem in the eyes of thy Servants to be ever the worse because of this thing, but Thine can blesse thee, Thine can rejoyce before thee, Thine can say,* Bless the Lord, O my Soul, all that is within me bless his holy Name. *And blessed be thy holy Name that thou hast been pleased to keep the Soul of thy poor Servant hitherto; and blessed be the Lord, that though thy poor Servant doth suffer in the account of the greatest part of this People as an Evil-doer, yet it is not so; yea, blessed be thy Name, thy poor Worm can approve his heart to thee now at the very giving up of the Ghost, that he is not guilty, that he is not guilty in respect of the things that have been by ungodly men witnessed against him: Sweet and dear Father, thy poor Worm can now lift up his face with much boldness to thee, and is assured that he whom man hath* judged, *God hath* justified: *and now for thy dear Name-sake give thy poor Worm leave, in integrity and*

*godly simplicity to beg one request at thy hands for the poor Witnesses; O Lord for the very thing that they have done, O that thou wouldest pardon them, O that thou wouldest pardon them, O that thou wouldest shew them as much grace as thou hast done to thy poor Worm; and that thou wouldest please, that as they have done their utmost to wash their hands in the blood of thy Servant, let their souls be washed thorowly in the Blood of Jesus Christ; for thy tender mercies sake be pleased to deal graciously with every one, if it be thy blessed will, that have had a hand against thy Servant, from the least to the greatest, from the first to the last. And Father, O that thou wouldest be pleased to look upon the poor Executioner, which is to destroy thy Servant and take him out of the world; O Lord, thou knowest the soul of thy Servant has not the least rising against him; that thou wouldest be pleased, if it may stand with thy Glory, and if he be within the line of the Covenant of Grace, that thou wouldest wash his soul in the Blood of Jesus Christ. O how eminently didst thou please in times past to work upon some of those that were the Executioners of thy People in the* Marian dayes, &c. *this work is not too hard for thee, thou canst work upon him, thou canst make him as chosen a Vessel of thy Glory as ever was in the world; O Lord, if it be thy will, that thou wouldest do it, if it be thy will, O that thou wouldest do it. And for thy dear Names sake remember all thy People in this Land; Lord remember all thy People in* Scotland, *and in* Ireland, *and all thy People up and down the Countries; O Lord, thou hast a Remnant that fear thy Name, thou hast a Remnant that fear thy Name in truth, good Lord keep their hearts close to thee, fit them for any tryal, for any hard dispensation that may be coming upon them. Sweet and dear Father, cement thy People, let thy Peoples hearts be one; Lord, remove those Controversies, Lord, close up all those Divisions, Lord grant there may be no more rending among thy People; O Lord, what differences there may be among thy People in respect of some Circumstances in matters of Religion, I beseech thee for Jesus Christ his sake that thou wouldest be pleased to knit their souls as one, O Lord, knit their souls as one, that there may be more love, and more peace, and more unity, and more universal agreement among thy own People. And sweet Lord, remember our dear King, our righteous Redeemer; O that thou wouldest be pleased, according to thy Word, to give Him the Heathen for his Inheritance, and the utmost parts of the Earth for his Possession; and let his Dominions be from Sea to Sea,*

*and*

and from River to River; and let those that dwell in Sion rejoyce before Him, and let his Enemies be brought under the soals of his feet; and set Him, precious Father, upon thy holy Hill of Sion, and hasten thy work in order to his Exaltation; cut it short in Righteousness, for a short work thou hast said thou wilt make upon the Earth. And be thou pleased for thy Name sake to think upon this Concourse of People that are come to this place this day, and be thou pleased to set home to their souls with much power, what hath been spoken and delivered by a poor weak Instrument; let no soul come hither this day in vain, but let it be a day wherein thy own People may get much strength to serve thee in any further work they may be called to; and let it be a day wherein those that have not yet the knowledge of thee, those that are Enemies, those that are Aliens to the Commonwealth of Israel, and strangers to the Covenant of Promise, let it be a day wherein their souls may come acquainted with thee; let it be a day of exercising much Power, and much Favour, and much Grace to the souls of those that shall be lookers on, that shall be spectators upon thy poor Worm this day. And now, sweet Majesty, for thy Name sake think upon thy poor Worm; thou knowest, thou knowest O Lord how it is with him, upon what account he is brought hither, the Lord knows it is not so: Father, wilt thou be pleased from some eminent Token from thy self to clear up the Innocency of thy Servant, in respect of the things charged upon him; and keep now the Soul of thy Servant upright with thee this little moment that he has to live in this world. And dear Father, O give thy poor Worm strength enough to encounter with the King of Terrors; blessed be God that thou hast been so kind to thy poor Worm all the way from Newgate hither; and sweeten to his Soul all that thy poor Creature has been tasting of, and what thy poor One is entring into; let him know what it is to enjoy those Mansions that our sweet Lord went to prepare; and indeed and in truth let thy poor Worm know what it is to be a Child, what it is to be an Heir, what it is to be a Co-heir with Jesus Christ: O that thou wouldest please to give some sweet tasts of thy holy Spirit to thy poor Worm, whereby his Soul, whilst in this world, whilst in this place, might be well satisfied, and more strongly assured than ever, that he is coming to thee: Blessed be God, blessed be God, thy poor Worm knows he is thine, thy poor Worm knows he is thine. And now dear and tender Father, think upon thy poor Worm, think upon the Tryal that at present is upon him; and as

Tryals

*Tryals and Tribulations abound for Christ, so let all Grace and Consolation abound by Christ: And dear God, in the very passage be then pleased to sweeten to my Soul the very passage; let not the Instruments of cruelty that are provided to destroy thy poor Worm any way scare him, but let there be such an open door into the Glory thou hast provided for thy poor Creature, that thy poor one may know it all the time his Body is in the hands of men; and make the passage very easie, and let thy poor Servant see by Faith an innumerable company of Angels ascending and descending to convey my Soul into* Abraham's *bosom; Father, let thy Servant see that there are as many Angels ready to attend and receive the Soul of thy Servant, as people here to look upon him. And now sweet Father, for thy dear Name sake hear what has been spoken here, hear what has been spoken by thy poor Worm, and be thou pleased to be far more gracious than what thy poor Creature is able to beg of thee; and all upon the account of thy dear Son, the Saviour and Redeemer of thy poor Worm, to whom he is coming to live with to all Eternity; To whom be Glory and Praise, Power, Dominion, and the Kingdom, this day and for evermore.*

After this he said he could not speak more, being very much tired, and his body brought very low. The Hangman said, *The Lord receive your Soul.* He replyed, *I thank you.* Then another said, This is a happy day. He said, *I blesse the Lord, it is so.* The other said, The Lord make your passage easie; he said, *I trust he will so.* One asked if he had any thing to say to the Sheriff? he said, *No, but only thank him for his Civility.* Then the Hangman having prepared him for his death, drew away the Cart, *John James* said aloud, (lifting up his hands) *Father, into thy hands I commit my Spirit,* and so finished his course.

The Sheriff and Hangman were so civil to him in his Execution, as to suffer him to be dead before he was cut down; the Hangman taking out his Heart, and burning his Members and Intrails, returned his Head and Quarters back to *Newgate*, put in a Basket in a Cart, and from thence were disposed by the King, (*viz.*) his Quarters to the Gates of the City, and his Head first upon the Bridge, but afterwards (by appointment) taken down thence, and put upon a Pole in *White-Chappel*, over against the passage to the Meeting-place, where he and his Company were apprehended.

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*An Account of the Death of ſeveral Perſons ſince the Execution of* John James, *known to be active and diligent in that matter.*

1. ONe Capt. *Hodgskins*, Capt. of *White-Chappel* Hamblets, who was with Major *Manly* and the Juſtices at the Meeting-place, when the ſaid *John James* and Company with him were taken, being the man that commanded the Souldiers, and to whom the Priſoners were committed to be carried to *Newgate*, is ſince taken away by death in the prime of his age.

2. One Mr. *Mould* a Strong-water man, that led one of the Company with *John James* to Priſon, being one that was heard to ſpeak maliciouſly in anſwer to thoſe many Inquiries concerning the Priſoners in the way to *Newgate*, ſaying they were Jews and Devils: He alſo much rejoyced to hear that the ſaid *John James* his Head ſhould be ſet up in the Street near his houſe; But before that time he was taken away by death, and not ſuffered to ſee that which he ſo much rejoyced in the hope of.

3. One Mr. *Stanfield* at the Nags-head Tavern, who was another of them that led the ſaid Priſoners to the Goal, going forth into the Yard to eaſe himſelf, and returning, in the Entry was taken lame and dead in one ſide of his body, forthwith calling for his Wife to help him, who came with others and helped him to his Bed, in which condition he continued three or four dayes, and ſo dyed.

4. One Mr. *Brown* the Marſhal of *White-Chappel* Hamblets, being the man that fetched *Bernard Osburn*, one of the Witneſſes, from Sea, and kept him at his houſe, and was very active in his Place, being obſerved alſo to rejoyce in that work; had his Wife ſince taken away by ſudden death, ſhe being heard to ſay with much imbitteredneſs of ſpirit againſt the ſaid priſoners, *That Hanging was too good for them.*

5 It is alſo well known that ſeveral Bills have been put up in divers Congregations in this City, declaring the Conviction of ſome that had their hands in this buſineſs of *John James*, earneſtly deſiring Prayers for them.

*FINIS.*

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